

URGENT TELEGRAM

Department of State

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FROM: MOSCOW

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1497, SEPTEMBER 30, 2

PRIORITY

ACTION DEPARTMENT 1497, INFORMATION PARIS 223, LONDON 188, BERLIN 127, BONN 165

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I FIND POSITION GROMYKO HAS TAKEN WITH SECRETARY AND MORE PARTICULARLY HIS STATEMENTS TO LORD HOME ON GERMAN PROBLEM SOMEWHAT PUZZLING.

THIS REMARKS TO HOME SEEM CALCULATED TO DISCOURAGE ANY BRITISH ATTEMPT TO PUSH US IN THIS DIRECTION. SURPRISING THAT HE WOULD TAKE STANCE WHICH OPEN TO RISK THAT WEST WOULD BREAK OFF TALKS LEAVING SOVIETS IN POSITION WHICH THEY COULD SCARCELY DEFEND BEFORE WORLD OPINION. SUGGEST FOLLOWING POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS.

1. THIS MAY BE USUAL SOVIET EFFORT TO BUILD UP STRONG NEGOTIATING POSITION.
2. K MAY HAVE DECIDED PREFERRED TO NEGOTIATE AFTER CONCLUSION SEPARATE TREATY. HE MAY BE IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED PERSONALLY TO CONCLUSION OF TREATY AND FEAR WE MIGHT OFFER REASONABLE SOLUTION NOT INVOLVING PEACE TREATY. WE KNOW HE IS CONCERNED TO ESTABLISH BETTER LEGAL BASIS FOR ODER-NEISSE LINE AND PROBABLY AS WELL FOR SOVIET ACQUISITIONS GERMAN TERRITORY. MOREOVER HE MAY DESIRE INCLUDE IN SEPARATE TREATY WITH EAST GERMANY RESTRICTIONS ON GERMANY SUCH AS PROHIBITION ATOMIC ARMS, ANTI-NAZI CLAUSES, WHICH IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO DO AFTER NEGOTIATIONS WITH US.

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NAME OF OFFICER	S. V.						
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-2-

1997, SEPTEMBER 30, 2 PM

FROM: MOSCOW

10.11.1997
12.11.1997

HE MAY ALSO FEEL SIGNATURE OF TREATY AND IMMINENCE OF SHOW-DOWN MAY BRING ABOUT DEFECTION ONE OR MORE OF OUR ALLIES AND STRONG PRESSURE FROM NEUTRALS FOR US TO COMPROMISE.

3. K MAY FEEL IT EXPEDIENT TO BE IN MILITANT OR EVEN AGGRESSIVE POSTURE AT TIME PARTY CONGRESS. I SHOULD HAVE THOUGHT HOWEVER HE WOULD PREFER HAVE FIRM AGREEMENT ON NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE CONGRESS OPENS.

4. K MAY BE USING CONTINUED STRONG PRESSURE ON GERMAN PROBLEM TO FURTHER AGREEMENT ON DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

5. K MAY BE PLANNING DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH WEST GERMANS.

6. SLIGHT POSSIBILITY EXISTS SOVIETS HAVE ACHIEVED SOME BREAKTHROUGH IN SCIENTIFIC-MILITARY FIELD WHICH THEY BELIEVE WHEN REVEALED WILL ENABLE THEM DICTATE THEIR OWN TERMS. I AM INCLINED BELIEVE MOST LIKELY EXPLANATION IS SECOND LISTED ABOVE ALTHOUGH DO NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY ATTEMPTED DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH GERMANS. THIS SCARCELY POSSIBLE HOWEVER UNTIL NEW GERMAN GOVT FORMED.

THOMPSON

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